

## Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 097689  
ORIGIN NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-15 IO-13 ACDA-10 SSM-05 ORM-02 DHA-02 /099 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/IAI:GDKULICK:LLC  
APPROVED BY NEA/IAI:WBSMITH  
-----301836Z 081959 /53

R 300010Z APR 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

UNCLAS STATE 097689

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR IS

SUBJECT: AVINERI SPEECH ON PALESTINIAN HOMELAND

1. AT DINNER OF AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE  
APRIL 25, SHLOMO AVINERI, WHO WAS THE KEYNOTE SPEAKER,  
PRESENTED A LENGTHY AND DETAILED EXPOSITION OF THE "OBJEC-  
TIVE" REASONS WHY ISRAEL CANNOT ACCEPT A WEST BANK  
PALESTINIAN STATE. THROUGHOUT THE TALK HE REFERRED ONLY TO  
A "WEST BANK STATE". AT ONE POINT HE INADVERTENTLY SAID  
"WEST BANK-GAZA STATE", BUT QUICKLY CORRECTED HIMSELF.  
TAKING ALLON'S APRIL 24 INTERVIEW WITH LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR  
AS HIS POINT OF REFERENCE, AVINERI ECHOED ALLON'S STATEMENT  
THAT ISRAEL WOULD "INSIST" THAT THE "PALESTINIAN PROBLEM"  
BE RESOLVED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GENERAL MIDDLE EAST  
SETTLEMENT. ANY SETTLEMENT THAT DID NOT TAKE CARE OF THE  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 097689

PALESTINIAN PROBLEM WOULD NOT ENDURE.

2. THE FOLLOWING WERE HIS MAIN POINTS:

A. A WEST BANK STATE WOULD NOT SOLVE "PALESTINIAN PROBLEM".  
SUCH A STATE WOULD BE TOO SMALL AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE TOO  
NARROW TO PERMIT THE ABSORPTION OF ANY OF THE PALESTINIAN

REFUGEES NOW IN CAMPS IN GAZA, LEBANON, JORDAN, AND ELSE-

WHERE. THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES WOULD THUS REMAIN IN CAMPS AND CONTINUE TO BE A SOURCE OF INSTABILITY IN THE AREA. THE ONLY VIABLE SOLUTION WAS A COMPLETE LINKAGE OF THOSE AREAS OF THE WEST BANK THAT ISRAEL IS PREPARED TO RETURN WITH JORDAN.

THE REFUGEES COULD THEN BE RESETTLED ON THE EAST BANK.

B. A CREATION OF A WEST BANK STATE WOULD DEPRIVE THE PALESTINIANS ON THE EAST BANK, WHO IN FACT ARE A MAJORITY OF THE JORDANIAN POPULATION, OF THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS THEIR PALESTINIAN NATIONALITY. THIS WOULD LEAD TO EFFORTS BY THE WEST BANKERS TO OVERTHROW HUSSEIN AND TAKE OVER THE EAST BANK; THE WEST BANK TAIL WOULD END UP WAGGING AT EAST BANK DOG.

C. A WEAK, UNSTABLE WEST BANK STATE WOULD BE A NATURAL BASE FOR SOVIET SUBVERSION. A WEST BANK LINKED TO HUSSEIN, HOWEVER, WOULD BE ABLE TO RESIST SOVIET DOMINATION.

D. ISRAEL WILL INSIST THAT ANY TERRITORY EVACUATED ON THE WEST BANK MUST BE TOTALLY DEMILITARIZED. IT WOULD BE TOO MUCH TO EXPECT THAT AN INDEPENDENT WEST BANK STATE, OR FOR THAT MATTER ANY INDEPENDENT STATE, COULD ACCEPT TOTAL DEMILITARIZATION. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WOULD BE MUCH EASIER FOR A COMBINED JORDAN-PALESTINIAN STATE TO ACCEPT

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 097689

DEMILITARIZATION OF A SINGLE SMALL WEST BANK REGION, WHILE MAINTAINING ITS ARMS IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY.

3. THROUGHOUT THE TALK, AVINERI EMPHASIZED THAT ISRAEL WAS NOT UNMINDFUL OF OR UNCARING FOR THE NEEDS OF THE PALESTINIANS. ISRAEL INSISTS HOWEVER THAT THEIR FUTURE LIES WITH JORDAN, WHICH AFTER ALL REPRESENTS TWO-THIRDS OF THE ORIGINAL PALESTINE.  
CHRISTOPHER

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** WEST BANK, PALESTINIANS, INDEPENDENCE, SPEECHES, PEACE PLANS, SELFDETERMINATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 30-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE097689  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** GDKULICK:LLC  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770152-0560  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t1977041/aaaaaasn.tel  
**Line Count:** 106  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 14dcb39b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN NEA  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 2  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 11-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2658639  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** AVINERI SPEECH ON PALESTINIAN HOMELAND  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PDEV, IS, JO, (AVINERI, SHLOMO)  
**To:** TEL AVIV  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/14dcb39b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009